

1-02468X-88

ROUTING AND TRANSMITTAL SLIP

Date

7-12-88

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Initials

Date

1. *EC*

Jul 12 1988

JUL 13 1988

2. *DDA*

rec'd 14 July

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12 July 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Nicaragua PRG Meeting, 12 July 1988

1. The meeting, called on short notice and chaired by the NSC's John Negroponte began with an intelligence overview by the undersigned standing in for Dick Kerr. (Attendees included Mike Armacost, Rich Armitage, Robert Pastorino, [redacted])

[redacted]) The main points in the intelligence overview included the following:

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- Although there was no direct warning of Nicaragua's PNGing of the US Ambassador and seven Embassy officers on 12 July, analysts had seen signs for weeks that increased opposition activity was getting under the skin of the Sandinistas.
- The immediate catalyst for the PNG action was a demonstration on Sunday, 10 July, in the town of Nandaime. This demonstration was attended by about 3,000 mostly conservative party members, ended in violence as security forces moved in to break it up, and was observed by US Embassy officers and a visiting Congressional delegation.
- In the view of the analysts, the decision to PNG the Ambassador was made in the wake of the demonstration and was an act of pique and frustration on the part of the Sandinista leaders over their inability to quash internal opposition activities.
- [redacted] undersigned ended the briefing by noting that the impact of the PNG action on internal opposition activities would depend on the US reaction.

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6. John Negroponte proceeded from the breakup of the meeting at 10:30 a.m. to brief Colin Powell, who in turn intended to seek the President's approval for "reciprocal PNG action" against the Nicaraguan Ambassador to be announced by mid-day, 12 July.

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Director
African and Latin American Analysis

Attachment:
As stated

This memorandum is classified
SECRET NOFORN in its entirety

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ARA:S G RADEMAKER:SGR
07/12/88 X79393
ARA/FO:M G KOZAK

S/S:

, S/S-0:

IMMEDIATE SECRETARY

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, OVIP, XK, NU

SUBJECT: PROPOSED ADDENDUM TO BUSBY INSTRUCTIONS

MGK
SGR *SR*

1. THE FOLLOWING IS BEING PROPOSED TO THE PRG MEETING ON NICARAGUA AT 9:30 AM EDT JULY 12 AS AN ADDENDUM TO AMBASSADOR BUSBY'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR HIS TRIP TO CENTRAL AMERICA, WHICH BEGINS IN COSTA RICA ON JULY 12. TEXT OF OF KOZAK TO ARMACOST PRG MEMO BEING SENT SEPTEL.

2. BEGIN TEXT. IN VIEW OF THE RECENT ACTIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA, APPOINTMENTS SHOULD BE ARRANGED FOR AMBASSADOR BUSBY WITH THE PRESIDENTS OF EACH OF THE FOUR CENTRAL AMERICAN DEMOCRACIES DURING HIS JULY 12-15

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TRIP. IN THESE MEETINGS AMBASSADOR BUSBY SHOULD REVIEW WHAT HAS HAPPENED AND THEN MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- THE GON'S VIOLENT REPRESSION OF A PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION AND SUBSEQUENT CLOSURE OF LA PRENSA AND RADIO CATOLICA SHOW CONTEMPT FOR THE PROMISES MADE TO YOU, TO THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN PRESIDENTS, AND TO THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE AT ESQUIPULAS, SAN JOSE, AND SAPOA. IT NOW APPEARS THAT MUCH OF NICARAGUA'S ALREADY INADEQUATE PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRATIZATION OVER THE PAST YEAR HAS BEEN ERASED.
- THE GON'S EXPULSION OF EIGHT U.S. DIPLOMATS WHO HAVE MAINTAINED CONTACT WITH THE INTERNAL OPPOSITION FURTHER DEMONSTRATES THAT THEY ARE NOT PREPARED TO ALLOW PEACEFUL POLITICAL COMPETITION.
- THE EXPULSION OF THE EIGHT U.S. DIPLOMATS, INCLUDING OUR AMBASSADOR, REQUIRES A RESPONSE BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. WE ARE PRESENTLY EVALUATING OUR OPTIONS. DO YOU HAVE ANY RECOMMENDATIONS THAT YOU WOULD WISH US TO CONSIDER?
- BUT BEYOND ADDRESSING THE BILATERAL AFFRONT TO THE THE UNITED STATES, THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS MUST IMMEDIATELY BE EITHER PUT BACK ON TRACK OR DECLARED A FAILURE.
- BECAUSE OF THE CHILLING EFFECT OF RECENT GON ACTIONS ON SUPPORTERS OF DEMOCRACY IN NICARAGUA, PUTTING DEMOCRATIZATION BACK ON TRACK REQUIRES MORE THAN JUST REVERSING THE CLOSURE OF MEDIA OUTLETS; IT REQUIRES IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF ADDITIONAL CONCRETE REFORMS REQUIRED BY ESQUIPULAS THAT THE SANDINISTAS HAVE REFUSED SO FAR TO IMPLEMENT. IT REQUIRES, FOR EXAMPLE, IMMEDIATE AMNESTY FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND REPEAL OF THE COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA LAW AND THE PUBLIC SAFETY LAW.
- BECAUSE THE COMMITMENTS JUST BROKEN BY THE SANDINISTAS WERE MADE TO THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PRESIDENTS, IT IS UP TO THE PRESIDENTS IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO DEMAND COMPLIANCE.
- THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO SUPPORT ALL APPROPRIATE STEPS YOU MIGHT TAKE TO PUT DEMOCRATIZATION BACK ON TRACK. WHAT SPECIFIC STEPS DO YOU HAVE IN MIND?

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FOR PRESIDENT ARIAS, THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS SHOULD ALSO BE MADE:

- YOU HAVE LONG MAINTAINED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE ARIAS PLAN WAS TO EITHER FORCE THE SANDINISTAS TO DEMOCRATIZE OR EXPOSE THEM AS TOTALITARIANS. THEY NOW STAND EXPOSED.
- PROPERLY UNDERSTOOD, THEREFORE, RECENT EVENTS MUST BE REGARDED NOT AS A FAILURE BUT AS A SUCCESS.
- IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE RECENT SANDINISTA CRACKDOWN WAS IN NO WAY LINKED TO PRESSURE FROM THE RESISTANCE. RATHER, IT RESULTED FROM SANDINISTA DISCOMFITURE IN THE FACE OF DEMOCRATIC PRESSURES THAT YOUR PLAN WAS DESIGNED TO RELEASE.
- AS THE AUTHOR OF THE PEACE PLAN, YOU BEAR A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO MAKE IT WORK. END TEXT.

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